

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TK RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7769
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 0698

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA, PDEV, RH, US, ZA
SUBJ: ZAMBIA/NAMIBIA/RHODESIA

REF: STATE 43983

1. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MWALE MARCH
3. MWALE EXPRESSED GREAT SATISFACTION OVER HIS MEETINGS WITH
SECRETARY VANCE. HE FELT THEY HAD PERMITTED HIM TO EXPLORE FULLY
NOT ONLY NAMIBIAN DEVELOPMENTS BUT BILATERAL PROBLEMS AS WELL.
MWALE LISTENED ATTENTIVELY TO AMBASSADOR'S PRESENTATION OF
WHERE WE STAND ON RHODESIA BUT OFFERED LITTLE IN RETURN, EVEN
REFRAINING FROM ATTACKING BRITISH. HE SPOKE OF PROXIMITY TALKS
IN POSITIVE FASHION, STRESSING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EFFORT
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BY THE FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND SWAPO'S SERIOUSNESS IN ACCEPT-
ING COMPROMISES. HE SAW WALVIS BAY AS MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK
REMAINING. ON IMF MISSION TO ZAMBIA, MWALE DID NOT GO MUCH BEYOND
SAYING THE TERMS BEING DISCUSSED WITH ZAMBIA ARE SEVERE. THE
TEAM IS STILL IN LUSAKA AND WILL GIVE ITS REPORT EARLY IN THE
WEEK OF THE 6TH. END SUMMARY.

2. FONMIN MWALE ASKED TO SEE THE AMBASSADOR IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE FORMER'S RETURN FROM MALTA; HE WAS ANXIOUS TO CHAT ABOUT THE PROXIMITY TALKS AND HIS MEETINGS WITH THE SECRETARY IN NEW YORK AND IN WASHINGTON.

3. MWALE DESCRIBED THE GATHERING OF THE CONTACT GROUP FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS IN NEW YORK FOR THE PROXIMITY TALKS AS A TRULY HISTORICAL OCCASION. HE WAS CLEARLY IMPRESSED WITH THE SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE SHOWN BY THE FIVE POWERS IN SENDING THEIR FOREIGN MINISTERS TO TRY TO FIND A SOLUTION TO NAMIBIA. REAL PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE, HE SAID, AND THIS WAS LARGELY DUE TO THE FLEXIBILITY SHOWN BY SWAPO. MWALE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OUR EXPERIENCE DISPLAYED A KNOWLEDGE IN DETAIL OF THE PROBLEMS TO BE OVERCOME. HE SPOKE WITH PRIDE OF HIS FREQUENT MEETINGS WITH SECRETARY VANCE, THE SECRETARY GENERAL, GENSCHER AND PARTICULARLY OF HIS ROLE IN GETTING NUJOMA TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY ON THE QUESTION OF NUMBERS AND LOCATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS. HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL WAS STILL TO BE WORKED OUT, BUT WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT A COMPROMISE COULD BE FOUND. IN HIS VIEW THE MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK TO AN AGREEMENT WAS WALVIS BAY. SWAPO WAS NOT INCLINED TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT THAT DID NOT CLARIFY THE ISSUE IN TERMS OF THE BAY'S FUTURE AS PART OF NAMIBIA. AMBASSADOR STRESSED THIS WAS AN ISSUE WHICH SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO RUIN THE CHANCES FOR SUCCESS. IF SWAPO WERE ADAMANT ON THIS QUESTION, IT COULD MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE FIVE TO ENGAGE THE SOUTH AFRICANS
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FURTHER IN THE PROCESS. MWALE RECOGNIZED THIS, BUT CONTINUED TO EXPRESS THE VIEW THAT SWAPO WOULD NEED GREATER SATISFACTION ON THE ISSUE. SWAPO'S OVERALL FLEXIBILITY HAD TAKEN PIK BOTHA BY SURPRISE. HE HAD MADE A MISTAKE IN LEAVING THE TALKS PRECIPITOUSLY AND IN SO DOING HE HAD SHOWN THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD COUNTED ON SWAPO INTRANSIGENCE TO CAUSE A BREAKDOWN OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

4. MWALE ASKED WHERE THE RHODESIAN SITUATION STOOD. AMBASSADOR WNET OVER EFFORTS ANGLO-AMERICANS HAD MADE SINCE APRIL OF LAST YEAR TO GET THE PATRIOTIC FRONT (PF) TO TALK SERIOUSLY. THERE HAD NOT BORNE FRUIT UNTIL THE END OF JANUARY 1978, AND, EVEN AT MALTA MEETING, PF CONTINUED TO ADVANCE PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD GIVE IT COMPLETE DOMINANCE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. NOW WE HAVE HAD THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN SALISBURY. WE CONTINUE TO BE SKEPTICAL ABOUT WHAT IT MEANS IN TERMS OF AN EFFECTIVE TRANSFERRAL OF POWER. HOWEVER, THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN ITSELF HAS CREATED POLITICAL PRESSURES IN THE U.S. AND U.K. WHICH CANNOT BE IGNORED. MWALE LISTENED ATTENTIVELY AND ONLY COMMENTED THAT ONE COULD NOT PLACE TRUST IN A

SETTLEMENT INVOLVING SMITH.

5. MWALE EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT HOW HE HAD BEEN RECEIVED BY THE SECRETARY. HE WAS IMPRESSED BY THE SECRETARY'S UNDERSTANDING OF ZAMBIA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE EXPERTISE OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HIS MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY IN WASHINGTON. MWALE FELT THE SECRETARY HAD BEEN SYMPATHETIC TO ZAMBIA'S GROWING ECONOMIC CONCERNS. HE NOTED THAT THE IMF TEAM WAS ONCE AGAIN IN ZAMBIA. GRZ HAD THOUGHT ITS 1978 BUDGET WAS A GOOD ONE, MEETING MOST OF THE IMF'S CONCERNS. HOWEVER, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE IMF WAS GOING TO BE DEMANDING IN WHAT IT REQUIRED OF ZAMBIA. AMBASSADOR OUTLINED FOR MWALE HOW THE U.S. AID PACKAGE FOR ZAMBIA IS SHAPING UP.

6. COMMENT: THIS WAS A FRIENDLY LOW-KEY CHAT. MWALE SEEMED TO WANT TO SHARE HIS PRIDE AT HAVING PLAYED A ROLE AT THE "HISTORIC
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PROXIMITY TALKS." WE WERE ENCOURAGED BY HIS DISPLAY OF INTIMATE KNOWLEDGE OF THE PROBLEMS. THIS PROMISES WELL FOR AMORE EFFECTIVE ROLE BY HIM WHEN WE NEED HIS HELP IN THE FUTURE. HIS RESTRAINT IN DISCUSSING RHODESIAN DEVELOPMENTS WAS QUITE REMARKABLE; HIS FEW REMARKS LACKED CONDEMNATION OF EITHER THE U.S. OR THE BRITISH. THIS WAS PARTLY DUE TO OUR MEETING WITHOUT THE BRITISH WHO USUALLY ACT AS A LIGHTENING ROD FOR HIS DIS- PLEASURE. LOW

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